Ike goes 22,000 miles to woo the neutrals and end NATO split

NATIONAL GUARDIAN
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By Kumar Goshal

PRESIDENT EISENHOWER embarked Dec. 3 on a 22,300-mile, 11-nation tour of Asia, North Africa and Western Europe. It would have been a tiring journey for a younger, more vigorous man; for the President it was bound to be exhausting.

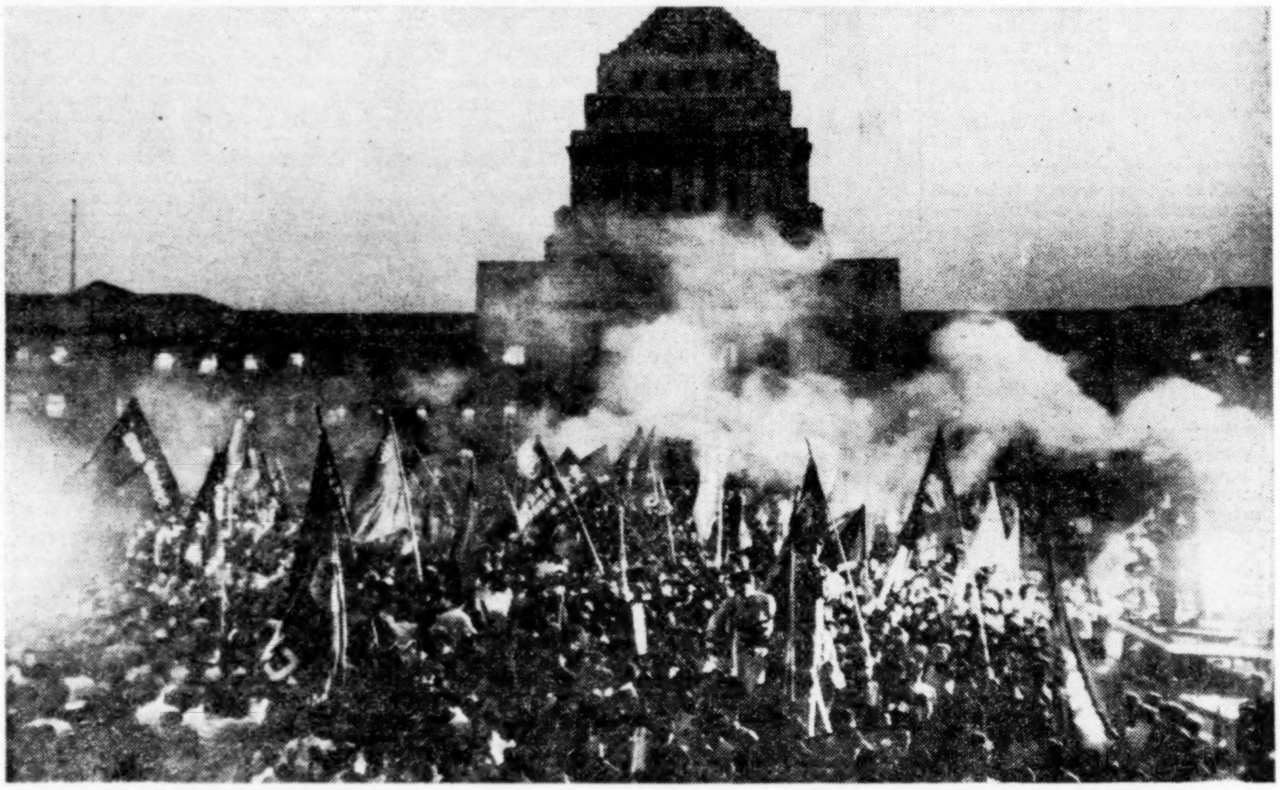
Many reasons were being given for this unprecedented and punishing tour by an American President, especially one who is soon to vacate the White House. Some saw it as a promotional stunt for the Republican Party in next year's elections. The **Wall Street Journal** (Nov. 30) called it "a major stroke in the U.S. public relations campaign to buck up our friends in vital cold war battlegrounds." Others considered it as part of a move to shore up support for the U.S. position at the East-West summit meeting.

FAREWELL ADDRESS: Eisenhower himself, in his address to the nation before his departure, gave these reasons for a "journey halfway around the world." He said he hoped to do these things:

- "Promote a better understanding of America and learn more of our friends abroad."
- Convey "our earnestness in striving to reduce tensions dividing mankind—an effort first requiring, as indeed Mr. Khrushchev agrees, the beginning of mutual disarmament."
- Observe how U.S. cooperation with other nations through "mutual security programs" was helping "the struggling economies of free nations new and old" and bringing hope and encouragement to others "in a world sorely troubled by an atheistic imperialism."
- Carry "America's real message to

(Continued on Page 9)

Mauldin, St. Louis Post-Dispatch
"Pranksters."



THE CRY WAS 'BANZAI' BUT THE MEANING WAS FOR PEACE IN THIS TOKYO DEMOSTRATIONS
Police lines were cracked as demonstrators occupied the Diet compound to present their petitions

TENS OF THOUSANDS PETITION LEGISLATURE

Demonstrators against U. S. pact rock Tokyo

By John Roberts
Special to the Guardian

TOKYO

THE EARTH TREMBLED here on Nov. 27 as scores of thousands of workers and students massed at the National Diet in protest against a proposed military alliance between their country and the U.S.

The demonstration, in which 60,000 to 80,000 persons assembled to petition the legislature, was only a part of a nation-wide campaign sponsored by the People's Council Against Revision of the Japan-U.S. Security Pact. An estimated 500,000 Japanese rallied throughout the islands to express their opposition to the Kishi regime's militaristic policies. The People's Council comprises the 3,500,000-member General Council of Trade Unions (Sohyo), the Socialist and Communist parties, the National Student Federation and many other labor, politic l and intellectual groups embracing large numbers.

By early afternoon, hundreds of contingents with flying red banners, streamers and placards had gathered in the streets near the Diet, where the legislators were in extraordinary session. (Earlier in the day the Lower House had voted to ratify the bitterly opposed Vietnam Reparations Treaty; debate on the Security Treaty was still continuing.) To meet the demonstrators, 4,000 police had been mobilized. Tokyo was off limits to U.S. military personnel and there were no foreigners visible. But the columns of marchers, so orderly that city traffic continued normally, did not seem very ominous.

POLICE BARRIERS: After a demonstration outside the Defense Agency, the petitioners planned to march on the Diet itself, converging in three columns. But police had blocked the approaches with trucks and armored cars. Some of the marchers were shunted into narrow back streets where they were immobilized. Police strategy was to isolate the separate groups, not only to control them easily, but to make the campaign less impressive.

But the procession nearest the main entrance of the Diet had grown so big that the lines of police, drawn up against their armored trucks, were forced back. There was no intentional violence apparent on either side, and later police reports of some 400 injured seemed utterly fantastic; spectators to the entire event reported seeing no casualties.

The police withdrew before the pressure of the blocked and restless columns. The marchers pressed around the barrier and attained the plaza in front of the gates to the Diet grounds. Here there

(Continued on Page 10)

THE GREAT T-H CONSPIRACY

Charges against two in Mine-Mill case dismissed

Special to the Guardian

DENVER

FEDERAL JUDGE Alfred A. Arraj Dec. 2 dismissed charges against two defendants in the Taft-Hartley trial of 11 past and present leaders of the Mine, Mill & Smelter Workers Union accused of conspiracy to defraud the government by filing non-Communist affidavits.

Freed were Asbury Howard of Bessemer, Ala., a vice-president, and Jack C. Marcotti of Tucson, Arizona, regional director.

The judge ruled that government evidence against the two was too weak to be presented to the jury. His action came during the fifth week in the trial after defense attorneys Telford Taylor, Nathan Witt and George Francis argued motions for dismissal of charges against the defendants either individually or together on grounds that there was insufficient evidence to present the case to the jury.

PROSECUTION RESTS: The government rested its case Nov. 30 after completion of testimony by its tenth witness, John Lautner, professional ex-Communist informer for the FBI.

The trial of the remaining nine defendants continued this week with presentation of the first dozen of some 20 witnesses scheduled to testify for the defense.

Observers here saw a severe blow to the government's entire case in the dismissal of charges against Howard and Marcotti, since the evidence against the two appeared no stronger than that against the others with whom they were alleged in the indictment to have conspired.

Denial by Judge Arraj of dismissal motions on behalf of all the defendants lent additional urgency to a public appeal by Mine-Mill President John Clark for funds to carry on the defense.

TIMED FOR STRIKE: Pointing out that

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THE MAIL BAG

Thoughts on labor

LAWTON, OKLA.

If our government can force men to go to work at a certain price why can't it force the industrialists to operate on a certain reasonable percent profit: excluding unreasonable official salaries?

W. J. Watkins

•

ERWIN, TENN.

OK, Congress, now let's have a law making all you Congressmen say where you get your money, and putting you all under bond. It's high time the people were taking a gander at where the Senator from Arkansas and the rest of labor's enemies have been getting their golden eggs.

Ernest Seeman

•

BREEZY BANKS, N.C.

Under the 13th Amendment, Congress cannot legislate and the courts cannot legally enforce "involuntary servitude, except as a punishment for crime whereof the party shall have been duly convicted." So the 80-day injunction provision of the Taft-Hartley Act is obviously unconstitutional and is thus invalid.

Vernon Ward

Job for youth

SITKA, ALASKA

It is the young people of the U.S. who have, up to now, lost their lives in warfare. But now the better part of the whole earth's population, old and young, will die if we allow a very small percentage of one percent to touch off another war.

Owen C. Rademacher

Straw in the wind

TIOGA, PA.

If Gov. Rockefeller believes that he can make the Presidency from a platform built over the caves of H-bomb shelters, he is very likely to find himself floating high above his target.

Maurice Becker

Stinger

BUFFALO, MO.

Only radicals have improved the world from J.C. to Gene Debs and the GUARDIAN. Keep the good work up, tell 'em the truth. It may sting some of them a little bit but it will make them think.

George T. Long

No vacancy

BROOKLYN, N.Y.

The New York newspaper ads for Parker Towers apartments show about 100 separate family photographs. They seem to be without fail all "Caucasian."

Can it be that photos of Negro families are hard to get because they are too shy to pose? Or do Negroes lack the class and dough required for the real estate developers?

If the average income of Americans looks so impressive in statistics, why is it so difficult for Negroes to move into places like Parker Towers? After all they do compose 10% of our population, and more than that in New York City.

Abraham Zitron

How Crazy Can You Get Dept.

One year free sub to sender of each item printed under this heading. Be sure to send original clip with each entry. Winner this week: J. G., N.Y., N.Y.

The pen is mightier . . .

ELKVIEW, W. VA.

Flushed with the success of my controversies with a columnist of the Charleston **Daily Mail**, I would like to suggest to the readers of the GUARDIAN that they likewise declare war on their local cold warmongers and brainwashers by raising hell with them every time they repeat the big lie and the big smear against communist and socialist countries.

Curtis L. Morris

On Social Security

CINCINNATI, OHIO.

There is an injustice in Social Security. This is the unjust limitation on the earnings of the elders.

Until four years ago this limit was $75 a month, $900 a year. Now it is $1,200. If a person drawing Social Security earns more than $100 in any one month, he or she is penalized that month's Social Security payment.

There is no such limitation on income from investments and this is rank discrimination in favor of the relatively well off.

The alleged motive for the limitation on wages is to stop the elderly from working, on the questionable theory this would open more jobs for younger men. But many men and women of Social Security age still are vigorous and healthy. After they have retired from their regular jobs they would prefer to continue part-time employment which would keep up their interest in life and supplement the bare subsistence income they get from Social Security.

It is unjust to force them into unwelcome idleness on pain of losing the insurance income bought with deduction from their pay checks.

Rep. Willard S. Curtin of Pennsylvania is author of a bill which would raise the earning ceiling to $2,400 a year or $200 a month. The limitation should be entirely removed. However, the $2,400 figure is a minimum step to this end and Mr. Curtin's bill should be passed. Every progressive should write his or her Congressman urging support of this bill.

Inflation has cruelly cheated this class of citizens, greatly reducing the purchasing power of their savings. They should be spared the further injustice of being fined when they work to supplement meager incomes.

Reuel Stanfield

Walt Green

ST. PETERSBURG, FLA.

It is with deep regret that I report the death of our mutual friend and loyal GUARDIAN supporter, Walter Lee Green. Mr. Green, 92 and known to many of his friends as "Walt Green," died suddenly of a heart attack, Oct. 16. His home was in Brownsville, Texas. He was on a visit with friends in Florida when the attack occurred.

In 1949, Mr. Green was a delegate to the International Peace Congress held in Mexico City. All his life he labored in behalf of progressive causes, and during the past 50 years he was an ardent supporter of scientific socialism. His many friends who loved him deeply will miss him sorely.

William C. Randolph

Wall Street Journal

"But your last prescription is two months old and I've read science has made great strides since then."

Up, periscope!

EVERETT, WASH.

Reading the GUARDIAN is like having a periscope with which to peer above the murky lower strata. Your coverage of the N.K. visit, articles on the strides being made by socialism and how they are accomplishing some of these things, are a treat.

John Cockcroft

Good thought

SAN FRANCISCO, CALIF.

In addition to commending those Congressmen who signed their names in expressing their appreciation of their Vermont colleague, Congressman William H. Meyer, people should write to Mr. Meyer and his son telling them how grateful honest folks are and how much their valuable services are admired by millions who hope and work for peace and fair play.

Irene Land

Leo T. Orsage

DETROIT, MICH.

We are enclosing a contribution in memory of that stalwart fighter for the people, Leo T. Orsage, who died in Detroit Sept. 25.

Mr. and Mrs. G. A. Hunt

Ten Years Ago in the Guardian

Resolution on peace adopted unanimously by the National Committee of the Progressive Party meeting in New York Dec. 3-5:

1. Immediately propose to the United Nations a treaty to outlaw the atomic bomb as a weapon of war.

2. Immediately recognize the new and existing government of China and establish normal trade relations with it.

3. Remove the existing restrictions on trade with Eastern Europe and Russia which have reduced that trade to a mere trickle.

4. Propose a four-power agreement which will reaffirm the Potsdam declaration by providing that each of the four powers shall prevent and prohibit the establishment of any German armed force or military formation in its zone.

We offer this, said the resolution, as a minimum program which will create an atmosphere in which real peacemaking is possible.

—The National Guardian, Dec. 12, 1949

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CEDRIC BELFRAGE *Editor-in-exile* — JOHN T. McMANUS *General Manager* — JAMES ARONSON *Editor*

EDITORIAL STAFF: Louis E. Burnham, Lawrence Emery, Kumar Goshal, Robert E. Light, Tabitha Petran, Robert Joyce (Art), David Reif (Art Library), Norval D. Welch (Production). LIBRARIAN: Jean Norrington. PROMOTION and CIRCULATION: George Evans. ADVERTISING and BUYING SERVICE: Lillian Kolt. GUARDIAN EVENTS: Theodora Peck. FOREIGN BUREAUS: Cedric Belfrage (London), Anne Bauer (Paris), George Wheeler (Prague), W. G. Burchett (Moscow), Anna Louise Strong (Peking), Narendra Goyal (New Delhi), Ursula Wassermann (roving correspondent). LOS ANGELES representative: Jack Fox, 465 So. Detroit St., Los Angeles 36. Phone WEbster 8-8065.

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REPORT TO READERS

Send that wire now!

AFTER THE GUARDIAN went to press last week, word came that the date had been changed from Dec. 4 to Dec. 14 for Dr. Willard Uphaus' appearance in Superior Court in Concord, N.H., to face contempt charges upheld by the U.S. Supreme Court last June. Dr. Uphaus was sentenced to an indeterminate jail sentence in January, 1956, for refusing to hand over to State Atty. Gen. Louis C. Wyman the guest list of the World Fellowship summer camp.

Meanwhile, Gov. Wesley Powell said that he had been "flooded" with letters and telegrams protesting the intention of the State of New Hampshire to jail the 68-year-old clergyman for as long as he persists in refusing to surrender the names—in effect, a life sentence. Wyman was reported to be "furious" over the intervention of outsiders in the internal affairs of his sovereign state.

As matters now stand, Dr. Uphaus is scheduled to appear on the eve of Bill of Rights Day (Dec. 15) and a weekend after the UN's Human Rights Day (Dec. 10) in the Merrimack Co. Superior Court, opposite New Hampshire's state capital in Concord. With the sentencing justice, George R. Grant Jr., presiding, Dr. Uphaus will again take the witness stand. Wyman has publicly stated that he will again demand the names he sought more than three years ago. Dr. Uphaus has declared that he will again refuse to surrender them. Although the original sentence of indeterminate imprisonment may be permitted to stand, Justice Grant can alter it if he so desires.

This issue of the GUARDIAN reaches many thousands of people in the east and midwest by Saturday, Dec. 12. Would it not be a corking way to honor Human Rights Day and usher in Bill of Rights Day, if you just tore off a quick telegram to Governor Wesley Powell at Concord, demanding that he step in and halt the imprisonment of Dr. Uphaus?

THE STATE OF NEW HAMPSHIRE is heading into a peck of disrepute also over the case of one Hugo De Gregory, now free in $10,000 double-surety bail fighting the same kind of "life" sentence meted out to Uphaus. Here is that story:

In 1954 De Gregory, a factory worker who had lived one year in New Hampshire, returned to the state from California on learning that his father-in-law might be charged with perjury if De Gregory did not make himself available for questioning by New Hampshire investigators into alleged subversive activities in the state. He was subpoenaed three times and each time refused, under the Fifth Amendment, to discuss his own political beliefs or those of others.

New Hampshire meanwhile passed an "immunity" law and, in 1955, De Gregory was the first (and thus far the only) individual offered immunity to compel testimony. He refused the proffered immunity, asserting that the statute could not protect him from incriminating himself in a possible Federal proceeding based on his state testimony. He was held in contempt and jailed without bail until he should answer the questions. The State Supreme Court granted him bail, but the U.S. Supreme Court refused, 6-3, to review his conviction, Warren, Douglas and Black dissenting. Then the Supreme Court ruled in 1958 that testimony compelled under a state immunity law can be used in Federal proceedings, concerning which Justice Black, again dissenting, said that things had now reached the point "where a person can be whipsawed into incriminating himself under both state and Federal law."

Wyman was jubilant over the Supreme Court's rejection of De Gregory's appeal for review. Said he, on July 4, 1959: "This decision breaks the back of the Fifth Amendment as far as we are concerned."

AS FAR AS NEW HAMPSHIRE and some 26 other states are concerned, the Supreme Court's decision against Uphaus put state witch-hunters back in business all over the country, especially in the South, where state investigations are using the situation to mount campaigns to outlaw the NAACP, and unhinge the integration fight.

So New Hampshire, in the Uphaus and De Gregory cases, is blazing the way for the southern segregationists, a situation which should not sit well with any right-minded individual.

Gov. Powell should hear from you on both counts: first—and now—on the Uphaus case; then, when we can bring you more up-to-date information, on De Gregory as well.

The De Gregory Defense Committee—Mrs. Priscilla di Giovanni treasurer—needs funds: Box 103, Hanover St. Station, Boston 13, Mass. So does The Committee for First Amendment Defendants (now numbering 48 including Dr. Uphaus): P.O. Box 564, Radio City Station, N. Y. 19.

—THE GUARDIAN

AN EXPANDING EXCHANGE PRODUCES RESULTS

U. S.-Soviet thaw reaches into Negro community

By Louis E. Burnham

THE NEGRO COMMUNITY, just as other sectors of American life, is beginning to respond to the thaw in U.S.-Soviet relations. Currents of thought and discussion are nowhere at flood tide, but reason and debate have begun to replace blind anti-Soviet posturing.

The visit of Soviet Premier Khrushchev has hastened this development. Throughout the Cold War period Negroes have had perhaps less reason than some other groups to embrace the foreign and domestic policies of the Truman and Eisenhower administrations. Unemployment is proportionately twice as large as among white workers. Housing jimcrow has remained almost inflexible. During the past decade negligible increases in voter registration in the South have been noted in the face of stiffening opposition. Gains in breaking down segregation in schools, transportation and other public services have been small.

Despite these handicaps, many Negro spokesmen have long regarded the Cold War as a boon. They have argued that a show of strength vis-a-vis the socialist world would force the government to make concessions to its "internal colony" of Negroes.

THE FALLACIES: But Khrushchev's vigorous advocacy of peace and competitive friendship between the two systems has helped underscore the fallacies in this argument: (1) it would be the emptiest of gains for Negroes to win "equality" through an H-bomb war that destroys civilization; (2) Negroes, bond and free, having suffered three and a half centuries of oppression, might begin to inquire whether jimcrow is not a necessary ingredient of U.S. capitalism.

Los Angeles area readers!

THE GUARDIAN is happy to announce a new representative in the Los Angeles area. He is Jack Fox (465 So. Detroit St., Los Angeles 36, Tel: WEbster 8-8065). Jack is eager to form permanent GUARDIAN committees in several neighborhoods to promote interesting meetings and to get new readers, and has asked GUARDIAN readers in the area to phone or write to him to pitch in and help. Long one of the liveliest of the GUARDIAN angels, Jack says great things are in store. Won't you get in touch with him soon?

Another development has heightened the new mood of questioning in the Negro community: the contrast between the U.S. and the Soviet approaches to Africa. The announcement that the Soviets had extended to the new government of Guinea a $35,000,000 12-year loan at a 2½% interest rate was widely publicized in the Negro press. Similar attention was given to the recent 14-day visit to the Soviet Union of Emperor Haile Selassie of Ethiopia, culminating in a two-year cultural cooperation agreement and a long-term $100,000,000 loan for the development of Ethiopian industry and agriculture.

In contrast to such Soviet initiatives, the U.S. approach to Africa has been erratic, half-hearted and hemmed in by the demands of Washington's colonial allies in NATO and our own international financiers. As a result, U.S. representatives at the United Nations usually end up on what Negroes consider the wrong side of African issues, while Soviet spokesmen vote on the right side.

A SECOND LOOK: To combat this impression, Negroes are told that the Russians' concern for African independence is merely a means to further Soviet world domination. Increasingly, however, many Negroes are saying: "Well, maybe we ought to take another look at the aims which cause socialist states to act the way they do."

Dr. Mordecai Johnson, president of Howard U. in Washington, D.C., has been a leading proponent of a new look at Soviet and U.S. aims. Last month he told 350 religious leaders and educators at the 43rd annual convocation of the university's School of Religion that unless the churches and peoples of the West "cease their conformity to the patterns of the colonial system" we may "become a group of decadent spectators watching a new world order come into existence."

A few days later, at the 72nd annual session of the Virginia Teachers Assn., Dr. Johnson said "Russia ignores color lines while the Western nations don't in their dealings with African and Asian countries." Now on a tour of Soviet educational institutions as a guest of the Union of Soviet Societies for Cultural Relations with Foreign Countries, Dr. Johnson is expected to invite a leading Soviet educator to visit Howard U.

EXCHANGE PROGRAM: A group of 11 Soviet students visiting U.S. universities has included North Carolina College in Durham, N.C., on its itinerary, and some Negro students have been included in missions to Moscow. With the enlargement of the cultural exchange program, it is likely that many more will follow.

The first sizable expedition of Negroes to the Soviet Union in recent years was the "Porgy and Bess" troupe which initiated the cultural exchange program in 1955.

In 1955 Dr. William E. Reed, head of the agriculture dept. of North Carolina's A. & T. College, was one of 11 farm experts to visit the Soviet Union. The same year Rev. Joseph H. Jackson, president of the 4,500,000-member Natl. Baptist Convention, joined three other churchmen as a guest of the Union Council of Evangelical Christian Baptists in the U.S.S.R. He preached in a Moscow church and returned to say that "talk of peace is constant in Russia."

Bishop D. Ward Nichols of the African Methodist Episcopal Church, who often travels with State Dept. blessings, told a congregation of 2,500 in Moscow that "the Supreme Court, the highest court in our land, has just made it possible for every Negro to attend school anywhere in the United States of America," and said that "Negro life in America is like the life of any other of our peoples."

VISITORS INCREASING: For a time athletes and musicians predominated among Negro travelers to the Soviet Union. Mattiwilda Dobbs, the mezzo-soprano opera star, just concluded a series of concerts and appearances in the Bolshoi Theater's "Rigoletto" and "The Barber of Seville."

But the number of Negroes—although still small—who have gone, not to perform, but to observe and learn the facts of Soviet life, is increasing. Last year Dr. Deborah Partridge Wolf, English instructor at New York's Queens College and president of a leading Negro sorority, conducted an on-the-spot study of Soviet education and reported widely on her findings. Earl B. Dickerson, president of the Supreme Liberty Life Insurance Co., led a group of 30 Negro insurance and business executives on a tour.

MRS. NINA KHRUSHCHEV (l.) VISITS A HOSPITAL
While in Pittsburgh she stopped to chat with a young patient (r.)

Dr. Carleton B. Goodlet, San Francisco physician and publisher, and Jefferson Beaver, a Bay Area banker, have made the trip and reported their findings to interested audiences on the West Coast. Mrs. Jewel Mazique, a Washington, D.C., clubwoman, last month reported to the Women's Auxiliary of the Monumental City [Baltimore] Medical Society on the status of Soviet women. She pointed out that in the U.S.S.R. 50% of local government administrators and 75% of physicians are women, and that 38,000 women serve as college instructors.

THE FREEDOMS: Soviet women are not entirely free, Mrs. Mazique said, but she enumerated the freedoms which they do enjoy: from anxiety associated with problems of educating children; from job security; from worry about old age and medical care; from loss of social status associated with deserting husbands, and freedom from the need for glamor, "for in that country feminine charm and attraction is not equated with synthetic glitter and lacquered beauty."

For many years such appraisals of Soviet life could be heard in the Negro community only from W. E. B. Du Bois, Paul Robeson or other partisans of socialism; and they went unheeded as often as not. With the current thaw, there has begun a call for a reappraisal of the role of these two outstanding leaders.

The **Afro-American**, biggest Negro weekly, recently published letters critical of the NAACP for not inviting Dr. Du Bois to its 50th anniversary celebration. One proposed a testimonial for him "before it is too late." In Los Angeles and San Francisco recently, Dr. Du Bois and his wife Shirley Graham related their experiences in the Soviet Union and China to capacity audiences convened by Negro women's committees, churches and a weekly newspaper.

CHANCE FOR HUMANITY: Commenting in the Los Angeles **Tribune** on Du Bois' talk at the First Unitarian Church, editor Almena Lomax, who scatters editorial buckshot with abandon, said that he had overshot the mark. But then, she said, "so have United States Steel and General Motors." She said that "life doesn't have to be as hard as it is . . . and if not wanting to run an obstacle race just to live in decency and without panic is socialism, then so be it. Somewhere between the paternalism of communism and the desperation of capitalism, there ought to be a chance for humanity. It is this which Du Bois wants so desperately for people, whatever he chooses to call it, or whatever straw of hope he grasps."

MOSCOW BEST-SELLER: 'TO LIVE IN PEACE AND FRIENDSHIP'
Residents line up to buy copies of the book describing Mr. K's trip to the U.S.

FROM UNDER A ROTTED LOG

Integration spells subversion to Dixieland investigators

TWO LEGISLATIVE committee investigations set out in the South last month to show that integration is subversive. Mississippi lawmakers sent to New York for J. B. Matthews, ex-Communist and veteran informer, to show that "the Communist conspiracy is dedicated to the overthrow" of the state government. Florida investigators at Tallahassee tackled NAACP state officials.

Matthews said the NAACP was "more infiltrated with Communists and Communist sympathizers than any other organization I know of." He also named the Southern Conference Educational Fund and the Southern Regional Council, two interracial organizations, as "Communist infiltrated."

He listed 11 Mississippians who, by attending meetings or serving on committees of these organizations, had fallen under subversive influence. After the hearing, he told newsmen he didn't know if the persons named still lived in Mississippi. "In fact," he said, "I don't know if they are living or dead."

UNDER A LOG: One of Matthews' victims was indeed alive and kicking. Pulitzer prize-winning editor Hodding Carter of Greenville, Miss., who made the list because of his membership in the SRC, called the informer a "damned liar." He said he wasn't "too concerned over the paid testimony of a man who reminds me of what is found in wet places beneath a rotted log. And that goes for those who hired him."

Matthews fared little better in some pro-segregation Southern newspapers. The Birmingham News (Nov. 26) commented: "Matthews is a highly controversial figure, a once-Red turncoat who served the House Un-American Activities Committee but got too zealous for that group and was released. Matthews' opinions and conclusions are not to be taken at face value."

Stockett, Baltimore Afro-American

"Beat it! You're not welcome here!"

An uninvited guest at the Jackson hearing was Carl Braden, field secretary of the SCEF. As one of the Southerners named by Matthews at the hearing, he told reporters the charges were not worthy of comment.

Following the two-day session, the investigating committee started drafting a report to the legislature Sen. Mayes McGehee, committee chairman, denied that its object was to outlaw the NAACP, but one observer said he could see no other purpose in the hearing.

CONTEMPT IN FLORIDA: The Florida hearing, which resumed an investigation begun a year ago, was frankly aimed at the NAACP. The committee ordered contempt proceedings against two Miami Negro ministers. Rev. Edward T. Graham, former branch president, was cited for refusal to say if he is now a member or knows any NAACP members. The present president of the Miami branch, Rev. Theodore R. Gibson, was cited for refusing to bring membership lists to the hearing.

The committee also recommended that Rev. A. Leon Lowry of Tampa, NAACP state president, be jailed for contempt. Rev. Lowry, in response to a subpena, appeared on the first day of the hearing and asked to be heard. When he was not called he left to return to a religious meeting he was conducting elsewhere in the state. The committee regarded his failure to appear on the second day as contemptuous.

THE REAL SUBVERSION: Robert W. Saunders, NAACP field secy., charged that the purpose of the committee "is the intimidation of Negro leadership and a continuous attack on the Association." Pointing out that many Negro teachers do not renew membership because of fear, he said: "All this justifies our actions in refusing to discuss membership lists of branches with this or any group."

Meeting in Memphis on Nov. 22, the SCEF board of directors declared: "What these committees are doing is the real subversion of the democratic process now taking place in this country. We therefore urge citizens throughout the South and the rest of the nation to protest the actions of these committees and bring about their abolition."

Mine-Mill case

(Continued from Page 1)

the case was brought to trial under a three-year-old indictment during a nationwide strike by the union against the copper industry, and that the burden of the four-month strike has drained the union's financial resources, Clark said:

"The Mine-Mill leaders on trial urgently need funds to defend themselves. Our union treasury is exhausted by the long and costly strike. Your financial help is urgently needed to defend the trade union leaders on trial, our union, and the civil liberties of all Americans."

Clark asked that contributions be sent to the Mine-Mill Defense Committee, 941 E. 17th Ave., Denver 18, Colorado.

ONE SETTLEMENT: First break in the long strike came when the union announced during the week a settlement for a 22½-cent-an-hour package with American Smelting & Refining Co., one of the Big Five of the copper industry shut down since Aug. 20. The company's 6,000 workers will return to work after settlement of local issues at plant levels.

Meanwhile 25,000 Mine-Mill members continue their strikes against Kennecott, Anaconda, Phelps Dodge and Magma Copper.

Hashomer Hatzair to hold winter camp for Chanukah

THE Zionist youth organization, Hashomer Hatzair, will hold a four-day winter camp for teen-agers during the Chanukah school vacation, Dec. 28 to 31. The camp is on a 500-acre farm in the Spartan Mountains of New Jersey. Winter sports and a cultural program are planned, with activities based on the theme of Jewish struggles for national and social liberation. Youth between 13 and 17 may apply for admission at the Hashomer Hatzair offices, 112 Fourth Ave., New York.

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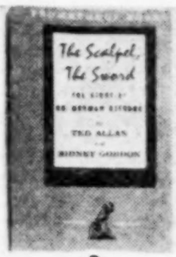

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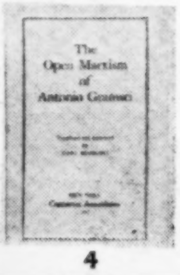

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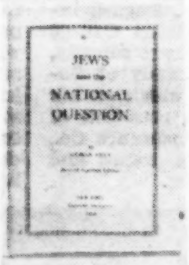

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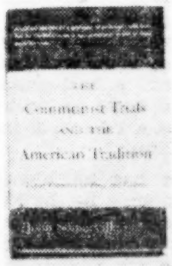

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AN INQUEST AT BLACKPOOL

Split makes Labor Party future uncertain

By Cedric Belfrage

BLACKPOOL, England

THE LABOR PARTY'S inquest on its third successive electoral defeat—and fourth successive decline in votes—was as dramatic as a whodunit but merely added to existing uncertainty as to the future of the party.

Nobody expected Labor to emerge united on a program to revive its ebbing strength; and indeed the two-day debate made clearer than ever the split between its socialist wing and those who want to run capitalism more "idealistically" than the Tories.

Some observers left with the feeling that Labor had "had it" as a serious contender for office. It was as certain as anything can be in politics, with the unpredictable factors of world trends and events, that what leader Hugh Gaitskell put before the conference was a formula for more and greater failure.

Eccles, London Daily Worker

"Yesterday upon the stair, I met a man who wasn't there. He wasn't there again today. I wish that he would go away."

'NONSENSE!': In a speech totally lacking in self-criticism Gaitskell came out foursquare against "complacency." Describing capitalism as "significantly changed," and declaring that 90% of the party favored a "mixed economy," he discoursed professorially on the difference between the "means" and "ends" of socialism and went even further than expected toward repudiating it.

He wanted Labor's constitutional aim of taking over the means of production brought "up to date." Left-wingers shouted "Nonsense!" and the applause of the Right was surprisingly tepid.

There had been a much warmer response to the opening speech by Barbara Castle, left-winger who is this year's party chairman. Mrs. Castle, a dynamic woman whose hair was the only note of red on the platform other than Gaitskell's tie, said that calling nationalization out of date "just won't wash." She passionately put the case against the vulgar, inefficient, phony "windfall state," and the practical objection to the reformist argument: "It just won't win votes."

ONE OVATION: Of the delegates' five-minute speeches which succeeded one another hour after hour, the only one to get an ovation was that of left-wing **Tribune** editor Michael Foot, former MP defeated in the recent election. Many delegates exhibited acute confusion, and most of the speeches in defense of Gaitskell outdid the leader in triteness, but Foot brought the conference to earth with a bump.

Dismissing Gaitskell's "means and ends" moonshine with contempt, he said that the leader's and the chairman's speeches presented the party with two clear alternatives—to follow the German Social Democrats into disastrous ignominy (à la Gaitskell), or to fight and win with the "modern doctrine" of public ownership (à la Castle).

Later playwright Benn Levy, delegate from Chelsea, pointed up even more witheringly the contrast between Mrs. Castle's speech and Gaitskell's which "might have been addressed to a different party conference."

More significant in terms of the party's future line was the attack by Frank Cousins, leader of the giant Transport Workers Union, on Gaitskell for proposing a basic change in the party constitution without consulting the national executive. "Nobody," said Cousins, "is going to change our attitude on public ownership." Gaitskellite Sir Tom Williamson of the General & Municipal Workers, who saw some private industries as "an asset to the nation" although others "do not play the game," got a roar of derision when he added: "I think I can speak for all the unions."

THE REASON: Many delegates insisted that the election was lost not on "nationalization" but on what Levy called the party's "apologetic and ambiguous attitude" toward it. Service—not manufacturing—industries which were bankrupt had been turned into state monopolies, saddled with huge "compensations" to former owners, and never really brought under public control; and there were other forms of common ownership and state enterprise never tried.

Many said Labor could never win without a forthright position on the great moral issues "which do not lie in Britain but outside"—colonial liberation and disarmament. On the H-bomb, said a woman delegate with several others, Labor must declare "we'll have no part of it at any time or any place."

Konni Zilliacus denied that the party had lost on socialist policies and said the leadership must be purged of "the appalling NATO state of mind, which is military madness, politically suicidal and intellectually imbecile." There was much discussion and leadership rationalization of the party's failure to attract youth—a problem to be solved, as some suggested, by opening "a chain of coffee bars." The problem would quickly disappear, said Zilliacus, if the party came out for "clearing U.S. bases out of our territory" and if it "showed the youth that socialism is a living faith in human brotherhood."

CLIMAX: The dramatic climax was when Aneurin Bevan, the former party "rebel" who compromised with the Gaitskell crowd over H-bomb policy, rose to "reply on behalf of the executive." A tense silence fell over the delegates, observers and visitors jamming Blackpool's vast, ornate opera house.

All we knew for certain was that the party, including the trade union leaders who sign the checks for most of its funds, was split right down the middle. To party treasurer Bevan, whose leftism not long since brought him to the brink of a second expulsion from the party, had gone the assignment of persuading the delegates that everything was roses and they could go forward united to victory.

Rarely applauding and obviously unimpressed by the speeches of Gaitskell and his followers, Bevan had sat through the proceeding with lowered head. Many in the auditorium wondered whether the outstanding British politician of the day was yielding to defeat, contemplating the "socialist" caricature with which he had compromised and the wreck of his own lifetime ambitions.

But the sheer impossibility of his task inspired the old master of political swordplay to make what was, at the lowest estimate, the finest histrionic performance of his career. If no child could have been convinced that he and Mrs. Castle and Gaitskell were in fundamental agreement as he proclaimed, his speech closed the conference with the outward glitter of unity without which many loyal party workers would have been plunged into despair. Speaking extemporaneously and with complete assurance, he concentrated his fire on the Tory enemy, but so deftly and subtly that, while deep earnestness was the abiding impression, the exact target of his mockery was left for the hearer to decide for himself.

THE NON-SOCIALIST: The conference as such has changed nothing; but as far as Gaitskell is concerned it has shown that the post-electoral lunatic period, when the air was loud with cries of "our great leader!," has already ended.

Gaitskell has emerged for all but the half-witted to see as a convinced non-socialist. The question to which an answer should be forthcoming at the party's 1960 conference is a simple one as political realists see it. Either the right-wingers will succeed in finally dismantling the socialism of the party for its next bid for power, in which case the bid will again fail, for the British people will not be persuaded that Labor can run capitalism better than the capitalists. Or socialism will prevail in the party—in which case Gaitskell will be replaced (by Bevan?) and there will be a fighting chance of victory. (Picket signs outside the hall urged: "Labor is too Conservative—Join the Liberals!")

MISSED THE BUS: Judging from reactions to the conference by the right-wing press which has been adulating Gaitskell since the elections, the British "Establishment" may already have turned against him. The main pillar on which British democracy rests in its propaganda is the two-party system, and this propaganda will be undermined if the second party becomes incapable of winning.

If Britain is to adopt the American system of peas-in-a-pod parties vying to manage capitalism, a Liberal Party built up with right-wing breakaways from Labor could more effectively fill the role of the Democrats. This may be the thinking behind the right-wing **Sunday Times'** post-conference editorial on Gaitskell's "new principles of socialism," which asks querulously: "If this is Socialism, what is Radicalism [in British political parlance, Liberalism]. Along with Marx and sundry other unwanted objects, Mr. Gaitskell has tossed the Webbs and G. D. H. Cole out of the window."

The extreme right-wing **Daily Telegraph**, which said that Bevan's speech had "rescued Mr. Gaitskell from having to decide whether to resign," seemed to imply that it would prefer to see Bevan as Labor Party Leader. The **Times'** first comment on the conference was that "Mr. Gaitskell missed the bus."

WEIRD SOUVENIR: Labor left-wingers who have not lost faith in Bevan believe he intends to fight for socialism in the party executive, and that there is a real chance he might win. They see powerful forces in this policy-deciding body moving toward his side, but his speech suggests that while the party is repudiating Gaitskell it is "not yet ready to throw him out"; Bevan was therefore trying to prevent the clash from being precipitated prematurely.

"Centrists" on the executive made no attempt to seem enthusiastic for the Gaitskell line at the conference: one of these, R. H. S. Crossman, a few days earlier had defended nationalization while denouncing the "centralized state bureaucracy" of the present nationalized industries, and had declared that any British government—like any U.S. government—would have to accept more national planning under the spur of the successes of planning in Communist countries. As for the trade union leaders, the Cousins group are already after Gaitskell's blood and some right-wingers are said to be souring on him as a "dictator" dominated by "Hampstead intellectuals."

This view may be unduly optimistic; but Mrs. Castle was not exaggerating when she said that the lessons Labor learns from its defeat "may well decide the future of social democracy, not only in this country, but in the whole world." As British socialists wait for the showdown, they are left with a Blackpool souvenir flickering weirdly in their minds: the spectacle of Comrade Gaitskell on a stage, perhaps for the last time leading the horny-handed sons of toil in "The Red Flag," and desperately but hopelessly trying not to look embarrassed.

German Social Democrats bury their past

IN WEST GERMANY, this is the program with which socialism bid adieu to its past at the recent Bad Godesberg congress of the Social Democratic Party (SPD). Added in parentheses is the party's position in its Heidelberg program of 1925.

1. SPD is "the party of spiritual liberty," with "liberty, justice and solidarity" as its "basic values." (SPD "fights to abolish class domination and the classes themselves . . .")

2. "Free competition to the greatest possible extent. Private ownership of the means of production must be encouraged and protected insofar as it does not prevent the building of a just socialist order." ("The aims of the working class can only be won by substituting socialist property for capitalist private ownership of the means of production.")

3. The community should take property into its hands "wherever a healthy organization of the relations of economic forces cannot be guaranteed by other means." ("The land and its wealth, and the natural sources of energy, must be removed from capitalist exploitation and placed at the service of the community; state control of cartels and trusts . . .")

4. SPD "approves of the official protection accorded to churches and religious communities," and "is ready at any time to collaborate with them . . ." (The influence of the Church etc. on lay scholastic institutions "must be fought;" "separation of Church and State, no public funds for religious purposes.)

5. "The cultural, economic, juridical and military tasks of German policy must be resolved in close union with public order." ("The fight of the proletariat for its liberation is a task in which the workers of all parties participate . . . . SPD is conscious of the international solidarity of the proletariat.")

Out of 340 delegates, 16 voted against the new program.

MONEY ON THE WRONG HORSES

U. S. role in S. E. Asia earns legacy of hatred

Although the UN fact-finding commission (Italy, Japan, Argentina and Tunisia)—set up under U.S. pressure—failed to uncover any Chinese or North Vietnamese intervention in the renewed civil war in Laos, the situation there remains explosive. The U.S. has prudently refrained from pushing the issue any further in the UN; but UN Secy. Gen. Dag Hammarskold, who had said he would not intrude into the situation unless both Moscow and Washington asked him to do so, nevertheless flew to Laos last month depite Soviet opposition and left a "UN presence" there in the person of one of his assistants.

Meanwhile, the Laotian government, which has already received more than $225,000,000 in U.S. aid since 1955, complained of Washington's "parsimony" and clamored for more dollars and warned of increasing "disaffection toward Americans."

Continued U.S. pressure on Cambodia and the refusal of South Vietnam President Ngo Dinh Diem—a U.S. protege—to negotiate with North Vietnam authorities measures to unify Vietnam and his highhanded electoral methods indicate that Washington has by no means given up its hope of making the entire Southeast Asia an anti-Chinese stronghold of the U.S.

In this situation, the following article by GUARDIAN's Moscow correspondent Wilfred Burchett supplies an illuminating background. Until he went to the Soviet Union two years ago, Burchett had spent six years in Southeast Asia, with Hanoi as his home base.

U.S. 'AID' IN LAOS RUNS TO ARMS
An American instructor demonstrates a carbine made in the U.S.

By Wilfred Burchett
Guardian staff correspondent

MOSCOW

THE DOLOROUS results of Washington's short-sighted foreign policies, far remote from any real U.S. interests, poke out everywhere. There is no area where a bit of foreign policy house-cleaning is more overdue than in Southeast Asia, especially if proclaimed aims of reducing tensions and helping people in underdeveloped countries are really sincere.

Laos is a case in point. So is Cambodia and so is South Vietnam.

The State Department played all its cards and spent all its money on two of the most despised figures in Laos: Katay Sahorith and Phoui Sananikone. Correspondents from the most conservative American and British newspapers have hardly been able to conceal their contempt for Sananikone in their dispatches.

Neither of these two figures have any popular support whatsoever. They got rich through manipulating U.S. aid which American authorities channeled in their direction. Between them, they monopolize all the banks, import-export companies and transport companies through which dollar "aid" passes.

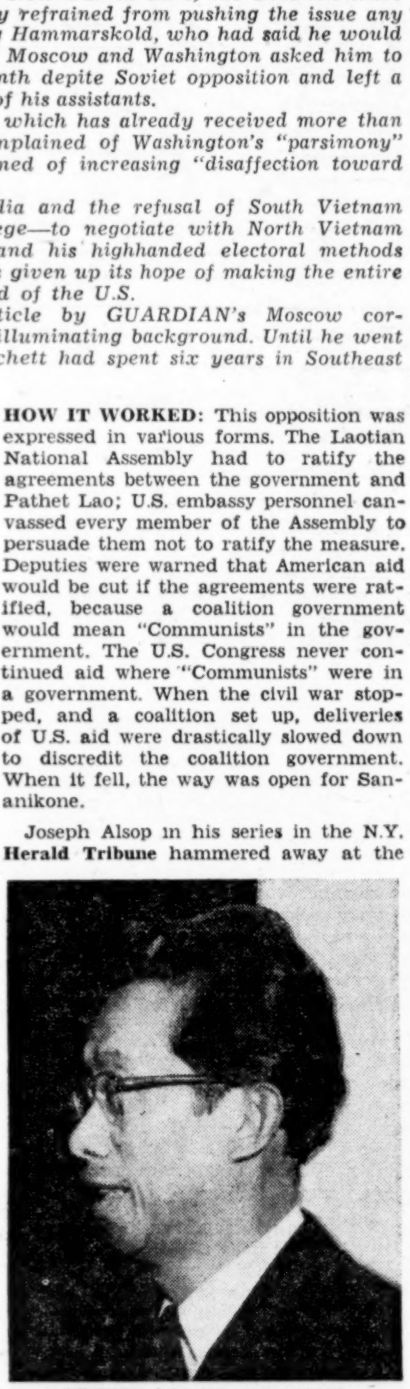
THE FAILURE: Sahorith was the State Department choice as premier to carry out the campaign to wipe out the Pathet Lao forces when they were bottled up in the two northern provinces of Phong Saly and Sam Neua. He failed and was kicked out, despised by his own people. As a failure, he was probably also despised by the State Department.

Sananikone's name had appeared abroad only in one connection before he became premier. The Laotian Defense Minister, Kou Vorouvong, was assassinated when he returned home after signing the 1954 Geneva cease-fire agreement. (A government crisis was provoked. The liberal pro-negotiations government of Premier Prince Souvannaphouma was forced to resign, a new one under the U.S. nominee Sahorith, was formed.) The leader of a small Democratic Party was arrested for the murder; but on the first day of the trial, he promptly denounced Sananikone as having arranged the assassination. Eventually he was released and withdrew the accusation—under what seems to have been some sort of gentleman's agreement.

The U.S. opposed every step of the implementation of the Geneva Agreements in Laos, especially (1) negotiations between the Pathet Lao and Royal government for a political agreement (it supported a military settlement—the wiping out of the Pathet Lao forces); (2) the terms of an agreement negotiated despite U.S. pressures between the two sides, after the military campaign failed; (3) the setting up of a coalition government, as agreed between the two sides, and political rights for the Neo Lao Hak-sat Party (the political expression of the Pathet Lao).

HOW IT WORKED: This opposition was expressed in various forms. The Laotian National Assembly had to ratify the agreements between the government and Pathet Lao; U.S. embassy personnel canvassed every member of the Assembly to persuade them not to ratify the measure. Deputies were warned that American aid would be cut if the agreements were ratified, because a coalition government would mean "Communists" in the government. The U.S. Congress never continued aid where "Communists" were in a government. When the civil war stopped, and a coalition set up, deliveries of U.S. aid were drastically slowed down to discredit the coalition government. When it fell, the way was open for Sananikone.

Joseph Alsop in his series in the N.Y. **Herald Tribune** hammered away at the



PRINCE SOUPHANOUVONG
Independence is his aim

theme that Washington had imposed the Sananikone government and its anti-Comunist policies on Laos and this had produced the recent crisis. Alsop did not suggest this should not have been done. He only cited it to invoke U.S. armed intervention to get Sananikone out of the mess in which the State Department had put him.

Step by step the crisis developed. Sananikone suspended the constitution; canceled the elections which everyone knew the Pathet Lao would win; wound up the International Control Commission set up under the Geneva agreement and denounced the agreement. He lured the two Pathet Lao battalions into a trap and tried to wipe them out; when they fought back, he cried "Vietminh aggression." At every step, Sananikone was supported by the U.S. State Department—or at least its representatives in Laos and Bangkok.

THE PATRIOT: In any definition of the term, Pathet Lao chief Prince Souphanouvong is a patriot who has devoted all his life to winning his country's independence. He did it the hard way: left the luxuries of court life and fought it out against the French in the jungle. For eight years he lived with his guerrilla bands.

I spent many days with him in his jungle headquarters and know the privations and hardships he endured. I know also that many offers were made by the French, and later by Sahorith and his entourage, to buy him over. He is an honorable man who will settle for nothing less than real independence. That he is in prison today, waiting trial on a treason charge, is a shocking travesty of justice. His is the most popular name throughout Laos.

In Cambodia, U.S. behavior is no better. Prime Minister Prince Norodom Sihanouk, writing in the magazine **Nationalist** on October 24, referred to a U.S. decision to reduce drastically aid to Cambodia "because the money was needed to support the U.S. allies, South Korea, Laos and Taiwan." Sihanouk, who is far from being a Communist or leftist of any sort, commented bitterly: "Because we do not agree to abandon our policy of neutrality; because we do not agree to American officers instructing our army, the U.S. is to deprive us of almost all aid. It turns out that if we wish to receive such American aid as South Vietnam and Laos receive, then we must completely abandon our present policies and ideals."

THE PLOTS: There has been plot after plot to overthrow Sihanouk and force Cambodia into SEATO. And every plot has an American finger in it somewhere—at least the Cambodian government believes so and says so. Military, political and economic pressure on Cambodia has not been let up for a moment since that country adopted a policy of neutrality and coexistence.

I have had several long conversations with Sihanouk and all he asks is for Cambodia to be left alone to work out its own destiny. In this, he has the overwhelming support of the Cambodian people.

As for South Vietnam, where U.S. influence reigns supreme, the country is no better than a vast concentration camp. In the phony elections held last August, 165 "independent"—suspected as opposition—candidates were forced by Premier Ngo Dinh Diem's police to withdraw their nominations before voting day. Dr. Phan Quang Dan, forced to dissolve his Democratic Bloc party just before polling day, stood as an independent in Saigon and was elected with more votes than any other candidate.

Dan was not permitted to take his seat but was arrested the day parliament was to meet. He, by the way, is an avowed anti-Communist; supports American aid, but wanted something more liberal in the way of civil rights. Diem's army and police, with American military advisers, are out night and day hunting down patriotic Vietnamese whose only crime was that they fought in the resistance movement against Japanese and French colonialists.

LEGACY OF HATRED: American economic and military support for Diem is just so much wasted effort to prop up an unpopular dictator, at the cost of the blood and suffering of the Vietnamese people. The U.S. has nothing to gain from all this but a legacy of hatred left behind by former colonialists. It's a legacy that dies hard.

The pity of it is that the U.S. at the end of World War II had much credit in Southeast Asia as champion of the rights of people seeking national liberation. That credit is frittered away by now. To regain it requires a major reappraisal of policies in Southeast Asia. If it starts with the recognition that Peoples China—the real target of these policies—has come to stay, other things would fall into place.

The Three (Billion) Penny Opera

Arranged for the payola, with strings attached; to be sung to the tune of "Mack the Knife," with apologies to Kurt Weill and Bertolt Brecht.

OH, TV has pretty things, dear,
And it shows them black and white.
Such a jackpot had TV, dear,
And it spent it day and night.

On the airwaves every evening
Were the programs oozing lies.
Someone sneaking round the corner
With the answers money buys.

Then the news breaks, bringing truth, dear,
And the rumors start to hurt.
Fancy words, though, are to come, dear,
So there's not a trace of dirt.

From the big boys in Manhattan
Retribution's booming down.
Is the sweet talk just for show, dear,
With the probers back in town?

One contestant disappeared, dear
(He'd been famous winning cash),
And repented like a sinner. . . .
Did our boy do something rash?

Oh, the sponsors! And the networks!
And the ad boys! And the rest!
Oh, the line forms on the right, dear,
At the prober's firm request.

Oh, TV's a pretty mess, dear,
But its shows could mirror life.
Just a little truth we ask, dear,
And not settling . . . for the knife!

—Lincoln Trask

THE CITY IS LARGELY REBUILT BUT—

The scars of the war still run deep in Warsaw

By Yuri Suhl
Special to the Guardian

WARSAW

WARSAW, ONCE THE MOST bombed city in Europe and marked by Hitler for total destruction, has risen from its ruins, a living witness to the unconquerable spirit of a people which gave its reply to the Nazi marauders with dignity and determination: Warsaw shall once again be the capital of Poland! And it is.

By the end of 1944 the once beautiful Warsaw had been reduced to a mass of rubble. Here and there a building had miraculously remained standing, its walls pock-marked with bullet holes. Here and there a jagged piece of blackened wall or a half chimney jutted out from the heap of debris, the weird tombstones of a dead city. Indeed, Warsaw had been so thoroughly destroyed that a question arose among some city planners whether it might not be more practical to start from scratch and build a new city on an adjacent area rather than resurrect the old one.

But a people's deep sense of national pride swept aside all such practical considerations. It was not just another city that they wanted in place of the destroyed one. They wanted their Warsaw back again and on the very ground where it had always stood.

And so they set about rebuilding it with whatever means they had at hand. Voluntary contributions came pouring in from all over the country to make the restoration of their beloved Warsaw possible. Now, 15 years after Poland's liberation, they are still building. But already Warsaw is a bustling city again, alive with the motion of a people forging ahead.

DEEPER SCARS: But the scars Poland had suffered in the last war run deeper than the destruction of its cities and buildings. If you take a stroll through Warsaw on a Sunday, you are apt to come upon the following scene on nearly any street of the city: a mound of flowers heaped high against the wall of a new or renovated building. The flowers are encircled by lighted candles of various sizes and of the kind that burn for many hours.

Standing close to the flowers are small groups of people, usually women and children, in solemn silence or in prayer. You wonder what this means and when your curiosity brings you close to the scene, you discover the plaque on the wall and you understand. Here, in English translation, is the complete text of one such plaque fastened permanently to the wall of a building on one of Warsaw's busy streets, Nowy Swiat: "This spot is hallowed by the blood of Poles who fell for the freedom of the fatherland. Here, on the 12th of November, 1943, the Hitlerites shot thirty Poles."

These spots are deeply personal shrines frequented by bereaved mothers, wives and children who thus keep fresh the memory of their murdered dear ones. They also serve as a constant reminder of the horrors of war.

COLLECTIVE SHRINE: About ten minutes ride by taxi from any one of these hallowed spots stands the Warsaw Ghetto monument, the collective shrine for six million Jews who perished by hunger, torture, fire and in the gas chambers of Hitler's many extermination camps. Standing about 30 feet high, it is a towering symbol of martyrdom unparalleled in the annals of recorded history, and of heroism unmatched in the history of human struggle.

THE GREAT WARSAW GHETTO MONUMENT
A collective shrine for 6,000,000 murdered Jews

One Sunday morning we visited this hallowed spot in the company of Marek Bitter and his wife Cecilia, two people for whom the Warsaw Ghetto is a chapter of personal history indelibly carved into their lives. In 1941 Marek, Cecilia and their infant son Jerry, now an 18-year-old student in a Warsaw university, were forced into this ghetto.

Some months later Cecilia, with the infant Jerry, managed to slip out and, with the aid of friendly Poles, lived on false papers outside the ghetto until the end of the war. Marek remained in the ghetto and was later sent to the extermination camp Maidanek. From there he escaped to the woods and somehow managed to stay alive. When Poland was liberated, the husband and wife began a search for one another and eventually the family was reunited.

In simple but moving words Marek related to us some of his experiences of his not-too-distant past. He also told us something about the history of the ghetto monument which combines the elements of both tragic irony and poetic justice.

THE ENDING WAS CHANGED: The Swedish granite from which this monument is constructed was once slated for a different destiny. Hitler had been so confident that eventual victory would be his that at the very outset of the war which he unleashed he bought from the Swedish quarries some of the finest granite for three victory monuments to be erected in three capitals of conquered European countries, one of them presumably in Warsaw. He had also engaged a Nazi sculptor for this ambitious project.

When the allied powers smashed Hitler's grandiose dream of world conquest and the Fuehrer himself perished in his cellar hideout like a drowning rat, the Swedish masons stopped working on the "victory" monuments and turned their skills to more useful tasks.

We now come to the second part of the story. Marek Bitter, who soon after the war became one of the leading members of the Jewish committee in charge of Jewish life in Poland, was among those who early conceived the idea and significance of a Warsaw Ghetto monument. This led him to Sweden and eventual acquisition of the same granite Hitler had bought for his "victory" monuments. The Swedish government very generously offered the stone as a gift and even paid for its transportation.

THE SYMBOL: Poland in those post-war days had neither the materials nor the necessary conditions for the materialization of such a big project. The Polish-born Jewish sculptor, Nathan Rappaport, whose design for the monument was accepted by the committee, worked on it in Paris where it had its first exhibit and won the acclaim of the leading art critics. In April, 1948, five years after the heroic Warsaw Ghetto uprising, it had its historic unveiling on the ghetto grounds in the presence of the entire Polish government and Jewish delegations from all over the world.

It is now Poland's most famous monument. It is also the symbol of Poland's deepest scar in terms of human loss. Of the three and a half million Polish Jews, three million perished at the hands of the Hitlerites. With its massive grandeur it seems to speak a message in the name of the six million Jews it represents: "Never to forget and never to forgive!" Replicas of this monument should stand in the hall of the General Assembly of the United Nations and in all the halls of congress and parliament the world over as a constant reminder that mankind can live and thrive only in peace.

SOIL SAMPLE SEARCH SNAFUED

Boy bacteriologist's bid bungled here but not there

EVER SINCE HE WAS a little shaver, 14-year-old Robert Graham, a ninth grader at the Memphis University school, has had a keen interest in science. While still in the fifth grade he developed and exhibited an ant colony at a local fair and won a ribbon. In subsequent years he built a solar-powered radio and an exhibit on uses of the sun's energy, and prepared a demonstration on testing soil samples. The result: two more prizes.

Last year all Robert wanted for Christmas was a home laboratory. His father, a chemical engineer, gave him one— an 8x8-foot room off the garage. Robert was beginning to move into the scientific big league.

Last spring he became interested in the possibility of bacterial life on Mars. He read some papers on the subject and decided to conduct his owh experiment. In the laboratory he set up an environment similar to the sub-zero atmosphere of Mars. All he needed now were soil samples from the earth's frigid areas.

IT'S A BIG STATE: A letter to the U.S. Interior Dept. asking how he could get such samples was referred to the Agriculture Dept. Agriculture officials returned his letter with a pamphlet listing Soil Conservation Service publications. Typical of these was one entitled: "Stubble Mulching in the Great Plains."

Robert then wrote to Gov. William Egan of Alaska requesting samples from the Brooks Range and the Alaskan Peninsula. In reply, the Governor's assistant, Frank W. Vaille, pointed out that these were widely separated areas of a big state and that "it would be impractical to comply with your request."

With scientific doggedness, Robert asked the Mount Palomar Observatory for help. They sent a printed handout on another subject.

GO TO THE TOP: Stumped at every turn in his approach to U.S. agencies, Robert sent letters off to the U.S. embassies in Reykjavik, Iceland, and Moscow. From the Soviet Union he wanted samples from the Ukraine, the central Siberian uplands and the tundra.

Embassy officials in Iceland sent a sample of that country's soil. The embassy in Moscow, however, regretted that its officials were too restricted in travel to collect the samples.

Still persisting, Robert wrote to Premier Khruschev and the Soviet Academy of Science. Back came pay dirt—a wooden box containing three smaller boxes with the needed soil samples. Accompanying the boxes was a letter which read in part:

"Dear Graham: We wish to aid you in reaching your goal and help in your scientific experiments, thus we send these interesting soil formations. . . . We hope that they will help in your scientific investigations."

OR A YEAR IN JAIL: News that the young scientist had secured abroad help he could not get at home caused a dither in Washington. Agriculture Dept. officials launched an inquiry to determine whether the imported samples violated the 1957 Federal plant pest act and noted that the penalty for such violation could be a $500 fine and a year in jail.

Robert's father said that neither he nor the young scientist knew that an import permit was required. Apparently, U.S. embassy officials in Reykjavik and Moscow did not know either.

Asked about his reaction to the performance of the Agriculture Dept., Robert, described as "a quiet and unusually well-mannered boy," responded:

"They must be stupid if they don't know the difference between soil samples and stubble mulching in the Great Plains."

MOSCOW TO MEMPHIS TO MARS
Robert Graham, 14-year-old Memphis student, displays samples of Russian soil sent by the Soviet Academy of Science to aid his study of bacterial life on Mars.

BOOKS

The flaws in our foreign policy

DURING THE PAST few years Washington has periodically undertaken "agonizing reappraisals" of its foreign policy. What emerged after each reappraisal was neither a fresh vision nor a new direction in line with the revolutionary changes taking place in the world today, but merely an intensification of policies which had already proved inadequate at best, disastrous at worst.

With Moscow's nuclear power equal to or surpassing ours, and Premier Khrushchev and President Eisenhower taking a realistic look at today's world, thoughtful Americans have increasingly felt the need for a genuine reappraisal of U.S. foreign policy. To this end, William Appleman Williams, associate professor of history at the University of Wisconsin, has made a brilliant contribution in his book, **The Tragedy of American Diplomacy.***

Williams says that "the U.S. has more to offer the world, materially and spiritually, than the Soviet Union," he asks Americans to forget the cliches and "devise new programs and policies which will honor rather than distort" America's ideals and ideas. And he notes that "in the most fundamental sense, the present crisis in American diplomacy is defined by the conflict within and between America's ideals and practices."

"In the realm of ideas and ideals," Williams says, U.S. policy "is guided by three conceptions." One is the generous impulse "to help others solve their problems." A second is the principle of self-determination internationally applied: "the right of every society to establish its own goals or objectives, and to realize them internally through the means it decides are appropriate."

WILLIAM APPLEMAN WILLIAMS
He defines contradictions

WHILE THE FIRST TWO are complementary, the author says the third idea, that other people "cannot really solve their problems and improve their lives unless they . . . copy America, contradicts the humanitarian urge to help them and the idea that they have the right to make such key decisions for themselves."

The same contradiction permeates the economic aspects of U.S. foreign policy. America, Williams asserts, "needs raw materials and other goods and services from foreign countries [and] needs to sell some of its own goods and services to them." The way to do this, Americans would say, is by trade—"the exchange of goods and services between independent producers dealing with each other in as open a market as it is possible to create."

This is where trouble starts. For, Williams notes, "in expanding its own economic system throughout much of the world, America has made it very difficult for other nations to retain any economic independence." To get at the root of this problem, he makes a searching analysis of U.S. policies "since the crucial decade of the 1890's, when Americans reacted to the threat of economic stagnation and the fear of social upheaval by turning abroad for new frontiers."

ANY ATTEMPT to summarize Williams' analysis of this complicated subject would run the risk of dangerous oversimplification. It can be stated, however, that he makes out a persuasive case when he analyzes American diplomacy in terms of the Open Door policy—the policy of trying to keep the doors of all countries open to American products and for U.S. exploitation of local raw materials.

This has led to U.S. opposition to all revolutionary changes, a misunderstanding of the real needs of the underdeveloped countries and failure to appreciate the true significance of Marxist theories and their application in countries such as the Soviet Union and China and their attraction for other economically retarded lands.

Williams says that "America has defined assistance to other people far too much in terms of anti-Russian and counter-revolutionary objectives, and as a necessity for the continued functioning of the existing system in the U.S. In the realm of ethics and politics, this point of view has led America to define legitimate behavior almost solely as anti-Russian conduct. In practical affairs the result has been to define as acceptable those means which do not seriously challenge the American economic empire of raw materials and markets. But neither of these definitions is valid."

THE ISSUE of the mid-twentieth century, Williams says, "is how to sustain democracy and prosperity without imperial expansion." He recommends "a three-faceted **process—not program**": (1) negotiating "**a modus vivendi** with the Soviet Union, the People's Republic of China, and their allies"; (2) extending aid to other nations through appropriate agencies of the UN; (3) reordering American society through "a balanced relationship with the rest of the world" so that the labor and leisure of American citizens "are invested with creative meaning and purposes."

Williams has written about an intricate subject in an exceptionally lucid style. A valuable list of source material is included in the last chapter.

—Kumar Goshal

**THE TRAGEDY OF AMERICAN DIPLOMACY, by William Appleman Williams. The World Publishing Co., Cleveland and New York. 219 pp. $4.75. Available from Liberty Book Club, 100 W. 23 St., New York 11, as a Prometheus paper back at $1.85, $1 to members.*

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"One Foot In America"

LAST week the GUARDIAN inadvertently referred to the presentation of **"One Foot in America,"** to be presented at the Brooklyn Academy of Music Sun., Dec. 13, as a "preview." Actually it will be the *only* New York performance. Tickets will be available at the box office at $3.45, $4, $5.

BOOKS AND PUBLICATIONS

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SOVIET HIGHLIGHTS

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In the Current Issue
(No. 5, 1959)

SPRING IN SIGHT, by Ilya Ehrenburg—The famous writer states his views on cultural exchange.
THE SPIRIT OF THE TIMES AND THE LIGHT FROM THE SCREEN, by D. Pisarevsky. A review of the movie festival in Moscow.
REMEMBER THE 16 YEAR OLDS! by L. Borodina. A letter on sex in films.
FAMILY HAPPINESS, by Z. I. Kozlov, President of Presidium, Supreme Soviet of Byelorussian Republic. A discussion on engagement and marriage.
THE ARITHMETIC OF SOCIALISM IN THE SAVINOV FAMILY, by A. Guryanov. A typical family budget in the U.S.S.R.
THE FUTURE OF OUR CITIES, by V. Kucherenko, Chairman, State Building Committee of the U.S.S.R. On city and regional planning.
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Ike's journey

(Continued from Page 1)

the world"—a message that, "in expressing the aspirations of America" the phrase "peace and friendship" is incomplete without adding "in freedom."

THE SPECULATION: There was some truth in all the reasons offered for the tour. The President's simple manner and personal charm will undoubtedly make his tour a success as a goodwill mission. The Administration obviously planned it with at least one eye on the elections. It will keep alive the image of the Republican Party as a peace party, especially since it will be followed by a summit meeting in the spring, and by Eisenhower's trip to the Soviet Union in June and a Latin American tour after that.

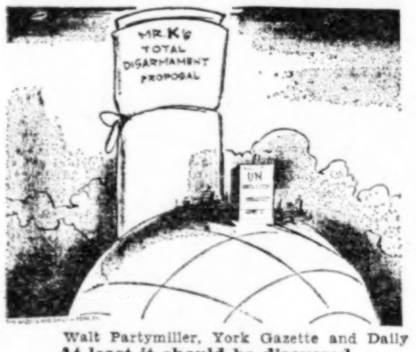
It is no secret that America's allies, especially in Western Europe, need bucking up! French President de Gaulle and West German Chancellor Adenauer are quarreling with British Prime Minister Macmillan; Italian Premier Segni feels his country is not receiving its proper share of attention as a major power, and smaller NATO members feel they are being bypassed on major decisions.

THE BASIC REASONS: It is generally conceded, however, that basically the President's trip was planned with two broad purposes in mind: (1) to check on the results of U.S. aid to Asian-African countries and to line up support for American policies in the neutralist nations of the region (among these India is considered the most influential); (2) to resolve the differences among the NATO partners in order to present a solid Western front at the summit talks.

From Turkey to Morocco, the President would find that U.S. aid has failed to help "defeat the evils of hunger, privation and disease" which, as he said in his address to the nation, create "tensions that are the powder kegs of disaster."

TURKEY: Despite the fact of $2,500,000,000 U.S. aid since 1947, Turkey has been continually in economic trouble. It was saved from bankruptcy last year by a $359,000,000 credit extended by the U.S. and other NATO members. Yet, the President's advisers feel that Turkey will need at least $100,000,000 a year for many years, even if world tensions are relaxed.

There has been little improvement in the living standard of the Turks and the Ankara government has remained a tyranny. Much of the basic food has to be



Walt Partymiller, York Gazette and Daily
At least it should be discussed

imported even as vast tracts of land remain uncultivated and the rural population remains idle. Even with imports, the **N.Y. Times** reported (Sept. 20), "many Turks are barely subsisting." Dissenters, including prominent newspaper editors, have been jailed for criticizing the administration.

IRAN: In Iran, the Shah's much publicized distribution of imperial land to peasants has remained largely on paper. Professional people and businessmen are demanding representation in a government now dominated by big landowners, tribal chiefs and palace hangers-on. Unless graft and corruption in government are eliminated and economic reforms are rapidly initiated, the **Wall Street Journal** said (Nov. 30), diplomats "foresee a revolt which could turn Iran into a neutralist nation."

PAKISTAN: U.S. economic aid to Pakistan has had no greater effect than in Turkey, and both cases illustrate the folly of Washington's insisting that its poorer allies maintain large armed forces. Most U.S. economic aid to Pakistan sinks into the bottomless pit of an inflated armed force maintained against a nonexistent aggressor. Turkey, with a population of 25,000,000, maintains an army of nearly 500,000—considerably larger than the armies of Italy, West Germany or Britain—and spends, despite U.S. economic aid, 22% of its $600,000,000 annual budget on military expenditure.

SPOTLIGHT ON INDIA: In the light of its border dispute with China, India was slated for special attention from the President. But disappointment was in store for Eisenhower if he expected Prime Minister Nehru to solicit U.S. military aid against China or to join the Western military bloc. On the contrary, Nehru, who has successfully resisted pressure from hotheads in Parliament for armed retaliation against Peking, could be expected to urge the President to withdraw U.S. opposition to UN recognition of Peking as one way to a negotiated settlement of the boundary dispute.

Nehru was expected to bring to Eisenhower's attention the need for sustained, long-range non-military U.S. economic aid to India. Washington has often urged underdeveloped nations to emulate India's method of economic development in preference to China's. The fact remains, however, that in contrast to China's spectacular economic progress, India's has been lamentably slow.

A POOR NATION: Indians have remained appallingly poor, despite two five-year plans. Millions still sleep in the streets. Barely 50% of children of school age attend school. There is no compulsory education. Only 17% of the population is literate. The third five-year plan, to begin a year from now, will require $1,000,000,000 a year in aid from abroad. Supporters of the Indian way of economic development have urged the U.S. to demonstrate its preference by underwriting this amount.

AFRICA SPEAKS: Tunisia and Morocco will also emphasize their economic needs and urge that African lands no longer be considered by the U.S. as appendages to Western European countries. They will stress the emerging African personality which insists that the U.S. recognize a free country when it sees one—in Africa as well as in Europe.

Both President Eisenhower and Premier Khrushchev have emphasized that disarmament through a summit meeting would release greater funds for aid to underdeveloped countries. Thus, Nehru, as A. T. Steele reported in the N.Y. **Herald Tribune** (Dec. 4), "will do all possible to impress on Mr. Eisenhower the deep concern of Asia in general and India in particular for a successful outcome of the East-West conversations."

Khrushchev, speaking in Hungary two days before the President left on his journey, reiterated that disarmament, relaxation of tension and peaceful coexistence still remained "the most important and most acute question of our time" to the Soviet Union. He said that he had not "abandoned the idea of an early [summit] meeting" but was ready to defer to "the wishes of our partners."

Khrushchev on the cause of the Hungary uprising

DURING HIS VISIT to Hungary last week for the first congress of the Socialist Workers [Communist] Party of Hungary since the 1956 uprising, Soviet Premier Khrushchev spoke candidly of the Soviet Union's role in the events. In a speech before 10,000 workers at a railway factory, he said:

"We thought in the Soviet Union on how we could help Hungary's working people against the counter-revolutionary forces. Some Soviet comrades expressed anxiety that any aid would be misconstrued. But we said that in time they would see we were right and we would have to help the working class. . . . How could the Soviet Union have withheld such help in 1956 when our troops were stationed in this country and the best sons of your people were being hanged?"

AT THE CONGRESS: In a speech to the party congress itself, Khrushchev spoke more frankly than any Communist official in public to date about the role of the previous Hungarian Communist regime and the reasons for the uprising. He said:

"The events that took place in 1956 in Hungary were a serious menace to all gains of the Hungarian working class . . . The organizers of the counter-revolutionary putsch wanted to strike a blow at socialism . . . The imperialists' hopes for the defeat of socialism in Hungary had failed. It was not the ideas of communism that went bankrupt but only those leaders who forgot the sacred principles of Marxism-Leninism, who were not guided by them. Such arm-chair leaders became estranged from the masses, began to order the masses about.

"By their wrong actions, they used the dictatorship of the working class not against the enemies of the working class but against their own people. Promoted to leadership, they were not able to use power. They did not strengthen the power of the working people, but began to direct the fire at their own people and to strike blows at the revolutionary forces. This was the beginning of the defeat of such leaders.

"It is clear that if the counter-revolution did succeed in causing disturbances in the country, if only for a short time, this was due to a considerable extent to the fact that the former leadership of the Hungarian Workers Party, and especially [former Premier] Matyas Rakosi, had committed serious mistakes which undermined the party's directing role . . .

"The former leaders took it in their head that they could do no wrong, that anything was permitted them, that they could disregard the objective conditions and opinions of the working people . . . The faulty, wrong methods of the leadership upset the normal relationship between the party and the broad masses of the working people. Their confidence in the party was undermined, and this was exploited for their foul ends by the forces of counter-revolution and their agents."

POSTSCRIPT: In an article written after a three-week visit to Hungary for the London **Observer**, correspondent Nora Beloff wrote Nov. 29:

"The Hungarians do not need the United Nations' special representative, Sir Leslie Munro, to tell them that Janos Kadar was put into office by the Russians. They are likely to observe that the Americans are not always so squeamish about rulers imposed by foreign arms. Mr. Kadar is not on President Eisenhower's latest visiting list; General Franco is."

PERLO'S PASSPORT

Moral: Sue the top man

LAST MAY 4, economist Victor Perlo applied for a passport. He said he wanted to accept lecture invitations in Europe, collect foreign royalties on some of his books and arrange for further foreign publication.

The State Dept.'s Passport Division hemmed and hawed. In June he received a questionnaire about espionage activities. Under protest he denied engaging in any, or planning any. In October they asked what other names he used or was known by. Again protesting, he replied that he once had some articles printed under a pen-name, Louis Fleisher.

There was another month's silence, at the end of which Perlo filed suit in Washington Federal District Court Dec. 2, asking the court to enjoin Secy. of State Christian Herter from refusing to issue his passport.

Monday morning, Dec. 7, Perlo received his passport by special delivery.
Case closed.

Memorial meeting in New York for Charles and Rodney Stewart

A MEMORIAL meeting was held in St. George's Chapel in New York on Dec. 6 for Charles I. Stewart, who died last August, and his wife, Rodney Mason Stewart, who died in Brooklyn Dec. 1. Mrs. Stewart was 61. A graduate of Cornell, she taught in the Westchester schools and was associated with her husband in many progressive causes. Three daughters survive.

At the memorial, tributes were given by attorneys Raphael H. Weissman of Brooklyn and Arthur Schutzer of New York; Mrs. Shirley Graham Du Bois, author; Cornelius McGillicuddy, a trade union leader; the Rev. Jesse W. Stitt, D.D., pastor of the Village Presbyterian Church, and James Aronson, editor of the GUARDIAN. The Rev. William Howard Melish officiated, assisted by the Rev. George C. Hoeh.

I. F. Stone to be honored at Bill of Rights dinner

I. F. Stone, editor of I.F. Stone's Weekly, will receive the Tom Paine award of the Emergency Civil Liberties Committee at a banquet celebrating the 168th anniversary of the Bill of Rights. The dinner will be at the New Yorker Hotel, Eighth Ave. and 34th St., Tues, Dec. 15. Reservations are $12.50 each, and may be obtained through the Committee's offices at 421 7th Ave.

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Tokyo demonstrators

(Continued from Page 1)

were singing, shouting and speeches as the tide of people flowed in. As darkness approached, most of the police had retreated behind the gates to prevent a forcible entry.

But it was too late; some of those penned in an alley behind the building had clambered up an embankment and reassembled in the grounds before the main entrance. From outside we could see only the tops of the banners, but with this encouragement the crowd surged toward the gates. Somehow, the gates were opened from the inside and the petitioners swarmed inside triumphantly—not as a mob, but in well-organized units.

THOSE WITHIN: Magnesium flares set off by photographers threw a flickering glare on the crowds and the towering facade of the Diet building. Banners rose and fell as the marchers ran in zigzag lines, chanting "wa-sho, wa-sho" to keep in step. Low-flying helicopters, some dropping rightist leaflets, chattered overhead as plumes of smoke from the flares hung in the wintry air, lending an awesome aspect to the scene.

At the tall windows of the building, shining golden against the twilight, were silhouetted the figures of those watching from inside. They were legislators, and perhaps Cabinet Ministers, who must have had sober thoughts as they saw this massive protest against policies which the Kishi government is forcing upon a reluctant people. Perhaps they speculated upon the political future of those rash enough to follow passively Kishi's warlike, pro-U.S. leadership.

SOME OF THE 60,000 WHO DEMONSTRATED BEFORE THE DIET
Their demand: No military alliance with the United States

Each of the demonstrators carried a petition; but 300 of them were delegated to present petitions for all. After repeated refusal, the delegates were met by Vice Chairman Mazaki of the Lower House, who accepted the appeals against the Security Pact, the South Vietnam Reparations Pact and the refusal to establish normal relations with China. Outside, speeches were made by Inejiro Asanuma, general secretary of the Socialist Party, Kameda of the All Japan Farmers Union and Communist chairman Sanzo Nosaka, who is a member of the Upper House.

THIRD AND BIGGEST: By this time the police had given up all attempts to control the crowds; indeed, it was unnecessary. There was great spirit and vigor in the demonstration, but the serpentine columns of workers, students, men and women of all ages and occupations, did not forget why they had come: they remained disciplined and there was no rowdyism. While a group of students sang the International on the Diet steps, policemen by the hundreds straggled back to a mobilization point, ready in case of emergency; some merely sat and watched, not unsympathetically, for all of Japan is solidly against militarism and war.

At last the Secretary General of Sohyo mounted a sound truck and asked the demonstrators to disperse. The response was reluctant, and hours later the student contingents were still singing, shouting and marching.

Although demonstrations have been held in the Diet grounds twice before, this was the largest and most impressive of such gatherings. Its effect on the government remains to be seen, but at least one thing was proved; any government which flouts the will of the electorate whom it is supposed to represent is treading on very shaky ground.

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Symposium: "The Significance of the Khrushchev Era." Hear: CARL MARZANI and ERNEST MAZEY. Fri., Dec. 18, 8 p.m., McGregor Conference Center, Wayne State U., 2nd Blvd. & Ferry. Adm. $1., Students 60c. Questions & Discussion. Auspices: Detroit Labor Forum.

LOS ANGELES

"SIBERIA—DECISIVE FRONTIER OF THE 20TH CENTURY"
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Saturday, Dec. 12—10 a.m.
"Paradox and Dilemma of World Jewry"
"The Jew in America"
- Richard Yaffe
- David Flakser

"The Jew Under Socialism"
- Moshe Kagan
- Meir Jaffe

Saturday, Dec. 12, 8 p.m.
"The New Government in Israel"
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Sunday, Dec. 13, 1:30 p.m.
"The Impact of Kibbutz Education"
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MORRIS U. SCHAPPES, editor of "Jewish Currents" discusses **Exodus** by Leon Uris, Fri., Dec. 11, 8:30 p.m. Beacon Hotel, Silver Rm., B'way & 75th St. Questions & Discussion. Ausp: West Side Community Club. Admission free.

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THE GALLERY

BAO DAI, former emperor of Viet Nam, says he is a reformed man. Once known on the French Riviera as Emperor of the Nightclubs, he has given up gambling at the casinos, and sold his two private planes and his 526-ton yacht, the Messenger of Love. He still maintains a smaller yacht named Pardon, a hunting lodge in Alsace, another in West Germany, a Riviera villa, a Riviera chateau, two homes in Paris, estates in Morocco and Tanganyika, and bank accounts in the U.S., Switzerland and South America. One reason for his austerity program is the French government's discontinuance of his $180,000-a-year allowance . . . Greek security officers deported Fernand Vigne, secy.-general of the Intl. Peace Institute, who reportedly was in Athens to present a "gold medal of peace" from the World Peace Congress to Manolis Glezos, jailed Greek editor . . . . The Intl. Press Institute reports that there are about ten journalists in jail in Turkey under sentences of two years or more for publishing stories unfavorable to the government . . . . Edward D. Eddy Jr., vice president of the University of New Hampshire, told a meeting of the American Council on Education that cheating "has become a part of the student culture—it's taken for granted." The Council concluded that cheating students were merely imitating their parents who regularly disregard moral and civil laws when they think they can get away with it . . . . Lt. Gen. Arthur G. Trudeau, the Army's research and development chief, said that he would "rather be gassed than shot" if he had to be a war casualty.

Eccles, London Daily Worker
"I see these cases of petty theft are on the increase, eh, Podsbury?"

EDWARD LINGERFELTER, Schoharie County, Md., director of Civil Defense, bought two Navy surplus planes for the county, but it has neither an airport nor pilots. The order was canceled but it touched off an investigation by the local district attorney. Lingerfelter said it was all "a matter of local politics." But District Attorney Kane concluded: "Someone goofed . . . . I don't know of any violation, but, thank goodness, there weren't any battleships on that surplus property list." . . . . The **Daily Enterprise** in Riverside, Calif., reported: "Arrayed against [Venezuela President Romulo] Betancourt is a motley group, including Communist members of his own anti-Communist Democratic Action Party, and the even more rabidly anti-Communist armed forces." . . . John Bowles, president of the Rexall Drug Co., told the Natl. Assn. of Broadcasters: "Sure you can get a vitamin in Poland, but it comes in an unattractive bottle. The pill itself is unattractive looking and too big to be swallowed comfortably and there just isn't any appeal, sex or otherwise, in Polish vitamins or Polish cosmetics or Polish anything." . . . The AFL-CIO Hatters Union has a problem. It is seeking an 8% to 9% wage raise plus a retirement fund and additional welfare benefits in its negotiations with the Merrimac Hat Co. Last year, when the company was in financial trouble, the union bought into the company to "save jobs." Union president Alex Rose is also board chairman of the company. Under Rose's guidance the company showed a $200,000 profit this year.

THE CHILDREN'S WEAR BUYER at Hecht Co., a Washington department store, says "the most fantastic item in the store" is a combination of panties and brassieres in sizes 2 to 12. Little girls, he says, "like to imitate mommy or big sister." The brassiere, he explains, "has no practical purpose whatsoever." . . . In opposing the Forand Bill to extend free surgical, hospital and nursing home care to people on social security, Dr. E. Vincent Askey, president-elect of the American Medical Assn., testified: "Anyone truly interested in the well-being of our old people could learn in a few minutes' time that the greater majority of them are enjoying reasonable good health." . . . The Mayflower Hotel in Washington received a package last month containing a silver tea pot, water pot, cream pitcher and pastry tray. Attached was this note: "Here are some pieces of silver belonging to you. The person who took them is no longer living. They were taken in about 1928." . . . In Pforzheim, West Germany, a court ruled that two men who made and sold tie pins and cuff links decorated with swastikas were not guilty of illegal glorification of the Nazi regime. In defense the men had pleaded that they made the items for American souvenir hunters.

—Robert E. Light

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NEWSPAPER

the SPECTATOR

Last of the Just

PARIS

ONE NOVEMBER night 21 years ago, a chilling dispatch came over the wire services. It was news of the biggest organized pogrom of modern times.

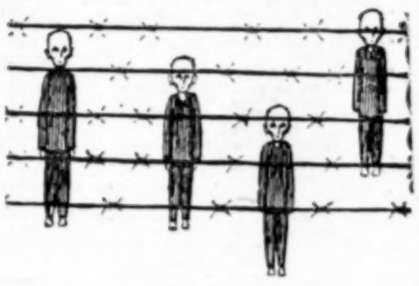
Hitler's "Crystal Night," November 10, 1938, was the opening chapter of what, by 1945, had become the slaughter of 6 million Jews. Now, twenty-one years later almost to the day, a descendant of Auschwitz dead has earned France's most coveted literary distinction, the Goncourt Prize, for a book that is a monument to the great anonymous mass of Jews forever silenced in concentration camps.

André Schwarz-Bart's novel, **The Last of the Just,** is a vision of Jewish destiny in which the long martyrdom of the Jews is lit up and explained by a medieval Talmudic legend: the legend of the 36 Just Ones on whom God has bestowed the heavy privilege of taking upon themselves all the suffering of the world.

Ernie Levy, the novel's central figure, belongs to a family that has had its Just One in each generation. Ernie's father and grandfather have escaped the pogroms in Poland and settled in a small German town, only to encounter a worse disaster soon: Nazism. Ernie is a child when the hate, the blows and the humiliation that were the lot of the Jews in early Nazi days drive him to the edge of suicide and insanity. But the Last of the Just finds the strength in himself to assume his destiny.

THE ROAD is short. It passes through the somber "Exodus" voyage, through a stretch in the French Army, through Paris and a first love that ends where Ernie's own life is bound to end: in an Auschwitz gas chamber. Rather than seek out individual action and death, Ernie chooses to join "the humble train of the Jewish people."

Not the least remarkable part about André Schwarz-Bart's book is how it came to be written. The author's own history runs parallel to Ernie's for a while. His parents came from Poland to Metz, in Eastern France, in 1924. André, born in 1928, began selling papers after school at the age of ten, because his father, who had studied to become a rabbi in Poland, was not cut out for business and had a hard time providing for a wife and seven children as a peddler.



When the war came, the family was moved to the interior of France. The parents, along with a new-born baby, were arrested and deported first. André at 13 had to look after three younger brothers. At 15 he joined the Resistance, then the French Army. When he was demobilized at 17, in the summer of 1945, two brothers and a sister were all that remained of his family.

ANDRE BEGAN to work in a factory. His background was more than fragmentary, his reading limited to mystery stories, till one day he was handed a mystery story called **Crime and Punishment.** The discovery of what reading could mean, and what could be expressed on a printed page, was a revelation. André began to devour books of every description, "because of a passion to understand life."

Work and study at the rate of 15 hours a day saw him through lost school years to college graduation in record time. But when he entered Sorbonne University, his first contact with student life was a disappointment to him. He returned to manual work. The same need for comprehension finally got him to write, "first of all to clarify my thoughts, in order to know somehow what I felt and what I thought." He returned to the Sorbonne and at last got started on his book.

André Schwarz-Bart's book is not one for easy tears and a quick return to intellectual comfort. It is significant that today, 14 years after the end of Hitler, the book was attacked in certain quarters.

NEITHER ACCUSATIONS nor laurels have turned the head of the 31-year-old author, who has submitted to interviews with a rare dignity. One may not agree with his interpretation of Jewish martyrdom as a mystic destiny beyond the economic and social facts of life. One cannot but respect his scruples as he began working on his book. The subject of it had been with him ever since he could remember, he said, but "for a long time I did not dare write about it: I did not feel I had a right to. To everybody and, I suppose, more particularly to the Jews, what has happened in the camps inspires a feeling of sacred horror. For the writer, the idea of 'making literature' with this is somehow profoundly shocking."

A young man of 31 who has never been to a concentration camp has written about the camps and about the people dying in them. The most extraordinary thing about André Schwarz-Bart's book is perhaps, the fact that someone who has not been a witness to that universal tragedy has become one by the strength of a vision and an act of faith; that someone of a new generation has picked up the torch and saved the gas chamber dead from the one destiny worse than dying: oblivion.

—**Anne Bauer**

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